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often pefter'd with these over-grown, rapacious State-Leeches, in former Times; but for feveral Years past we have been pretty free from them; the first great VILLARS, Duke of BUCKINGHAM, being the last Minister of that fort in this Kingdom; and I hope, the last we shall ever see here!-I have already presented the Reader with some of those excellent Instructions. which were given him for his Behaviour in that high Station, by that great and good Man Sir Francis Bacon, in the Infancy of his Power; and I defign very freedily to shew what an ill Use he made of them, in a short Review of his Life and Conduct; which will farther corroborate what I have faid in this Paper, and prove that such an exorbitant Power, as is before described, is prejudicial to the Liberties of this Nation; to the Honour and Welfare of a Britilb King; and to the true Interest of a MINISTER himself.

D.



Nº 23. Monday, February 20.

Timores inter Er Iras.

Hor.



T is an old established Maxim in Politicks, that a true-bred Statesman should bave no private Passions; that is, He ought to be a Man of such a sedate, steddy, and determined Temper, that he may not be interrupted, in the Con-

duct of his Schemes and the Pursuit of his Interest, by those light and sudden Passions, which are apt to agitate and russe weak Minds. Nay, some grave Reamark M

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foners and Refiners upon this Subject have gone farther, and maintain'd that a flanch Politician ought not only to be exempt from Intemperance, Effeminacy. and other common Frailties of human Nature; but should also enfranchize his Mind from the Dominion of what are commonly call'd the nobler Passions; that he should be incapable of Love or Hatred; that he should not suffer himself to be sway'd by any vulgar Notions of Gratitude, Honour or Justice; nor be tempted to defift from the Execution of his Defigns by the frail Impulses of Pity and Remorfe; that he should have no Regard to Friends, Relations or Benefactors, when it interferes with his private Views; nor refent, as other Men do, the most provoking Injuries or the highest Obligations, when his Interest (that great ruling Principle) instructs him to forget either.

I am not, I confess, Machiavillian enough to approve of such Maxims, or to propose them as Lessons, which ought to be follow'd. They have been, God knows, and still are too much practiced in most Courts, to stand in need of any Recommendation, or to be discountenanced by any Arguments. Happy, alas! would it be for the World, if all great Men wanted any Instructions of this sort; or were backward to consult their own Interest, by sacrificing to it all other Considerations, both of a publick and private Nature!

There is indeed one Rock, which many of the ablest State-Pilots, with all their dispessionate Indifference, have not been able to avoid; even though they have been amply forewarn'd, by the calamitous Fate of their Predecessors, to use the utmost Caution and Circumspection to keep clear of it. I mean that Infolence or Impetuosity of Temper, which Power is apt to beget in great Minds, and commonly ends in Ruin and Disgrace; for Passion and Vehemence tend, more than any thing else, to exasperate and provoke Indignation,

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tion, as well as to unbosom the secret Thoughts, and discover those Foibles or ill Designs, which it should be always the Business of a great Man to conceal.

When such an ever-bearing Spirit gets the better of a Man of an honest and worthy Disposition; it is a real Missortune to the Publick; but when it possesses a corrupt Mind, we ought to congratulate the Society in which it prevails; for Experience teaches us to look on Rage, Choler, and Impatience of Opposition as the last Struggles and Convulsions of an expiring

Minister.

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Some Men are born with this violent, imperious Frame of Mind; which feems to have been the Cafe of Cardinal Wolsey; who was naturally a Man of fuch an arrogant, domineering Temper, that he could not keep it from breaking out in the groffest, personal Infults, even upon his Royal Master, who had honoured and aggrandized him with Power and Wealth in the most partial and extravagant Manner; and as his own Interest and most immoderate Ambition could not restrain it, so it occasioned that grievous and ignominious Difgrace, under which he afterwards fell. But there are others, who, being naturally Men of a more placid, courteous and affable Disposition, have been betrayed into the same Vehemence and infolent Behaviour by a long Run of Power, Prosperity, and Success. Whilst the Sun shone upon them, and the Ship fail'd briskly before the Wind; whilst most of the Passengers approved their Conduct, and flatter'd their Abilities, you could fee nothing but Smiles on their Faces, and the utmost Complaifance in their Behaviour. They preserved an Ease, Serenity, and outward Benevolence in all their Deportment; which extended even to those few, who differted from the Majority, and complain'd of their Management. But as foon as Things took another Turn; when the Clouds began to gather, and the Billows to rife about them; when most People were seized with a Pannick. M 2

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and their late Obsequiousness was converted into Murmurs and Discontent; then their Behaviour was seen immediately to change; and from the most obliging, humble and condescending Creatures in the World, they have grown the most peevish, captious, and dogmatical Wretches upon the Face of the Earth; for having been habituated, from the Applause and Adulation, which were formerly paid them, to believe themselves infallible in all their Proceedings, they now looked on the least Contradiction or Opposition, as a personal Affront to their Understandings, proceeding from some personal Resentment, and a manifest Outrage on their Grandeur and Authority.

We meet with an Instance, in some Respects, of this fort in Wesson, Earl of PORTLAND, who was Lord High Treasurer in the Reign of that unhappy Prince King Charles I. — My Lord Clarendon informs us, that this great Man "did appear, on the study subject of the standard of

"Affectation to please some very much, and to dis"please none, in which Art he had excell'd, that in a
"few Months after the Duke of Buckingham's Death,

" he found himself to succeed him in the publick Dis" pleasure, and in the Malice of his Enemies, with-

" out fucceeding him in his *Credit* at Court, or in the Affection of any *confiderable Dependants*; and yet, though he was not fuperior to all other Men

" in the Affection, or rather Resignation of the King,
" so that he might dispense Favours or Disfavours ac-

" cording to his own Election, he had a full Share in his Mafter's Efteem; who looked upon him as a

" wife and able Servant, and worthy of the Trust he reposed in him; and received no other Advice

" in the large Business of his Revenue; nor was any Man so much his Superior, as to be able to lessen

" him in the King's Affection by his Power. So that he was in a Post, in which he might have found

" much Ease and Delight, if he could have contained bemself

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" himself within the Verge of his own Province; " which was large enough, and of fuch Extent, that " he might, at the same Time, have drawn a great. " Dependance upon him of very considerable Men. " and appeared a very useful and profitable Minister " to the King; whose Revenue had been very loosely " managed during the late Years; and might, by In-" duftry, and Order, have been cafily improved. And " no Man better understood what Method was neces-" fary towards that good Husbandry than He.

" But I know not by what Frowardness in his Stars, " he took more Pains in examining and enquiring in-" to other Mens Offices, than in the Discharge of his " own; and not so much Joy in what He bad, as "Trouble and Agony in what He had not. The " Truth is, He had so vehement a Defire to be the " fole Favourite, that he had no relish of the Power " he had — He tells us afterwards, that he found " the Number of his Enemies exceedingly encreased, " and others to be less eager in the Pursuit of his " Friendship, and every Day discovered some Infir-" mities in him; which, being before known to few. " and not taken Notice of, did now expose him to " publick Reproach and to private Animosities. And " even his Vices admitted those Contradictions in " them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleafant Fruit

" No Man, fays He, had greater Ambition to " make his Family great, or stronger Designs to leave " a great Fortune to it - That, in order to do this. " he had avowedly and fowerly croffed the Pretences " of other Men, and restrained the King's Bounty " from being exercised almost to any - which, " from the Duke's Death, ran in narrower Channels, " and never so much over-flowed as toward Himself, " who stopped the Current to other Men".

The noble Historian goes on thus. " He was of an imperious Nature, and nothing wary in disoblig-66 ing M 3

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" ing and provoking other Men; and had teo much " Courage in offending and incensing them; but, af.

"ter having offended them, he was of so unhappy a feminine Temper, that he was always in a terrible

" Fright and Apprehension of them.

And just after, He says, "That he quickly lost the "Character of a bold, flout and magnanimous Man;

"which he had been long reputed to be in worse

" Times; and, in his most prosperous Season, fell

" under the Reproach of being a Man of big Looks, and of a mean and abject Spirit.

"To conclude; all the Honours the King conferr'd upon him (as he made him a Baron, then an

Earl, and Knight of the Garter) could not make

" him think himself great enough. Nor could all the King's Bounties, nor his own large Accessions raise

" a Fortune to his Heir; but after fix or eight Years

" spent in outward Opulency, and inward Murmur and Trouble that it was not greater; after vast

"Sums of Money, and great Wealth gotten, and ra-

"ther confumed than enjoyed; without any Sense or Delight in so great Prosperity, with the Agony that

"it was no greater; he dy'd unlamented by any; bitterly mentioned by most, who never pretended to

" love him.; and feverely cenfured and complained of

" by Those, who expected most from him, and deferved best of him; and left a numerous Family,

" which was, in a fhort Time, worn out, and yet

" out-lived the Fortune that he left behind him.

I am fensible, that I have, in some Measure, departed from the first Design of this Paper, which was to expose the Absurdity and Folly of Passion and Vebemence in publick Ministers. But there is something so particular and remarkable in the Character of this great Man, that I could not avoid the Opportunity of being somewhat circumstantial in my Relation of it from so masterly an Hand. It cannot however be suggested, with any Reason, that I dwelt so long upon it.

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in order to draw any invidious Parallel; (which has heen, of late, objected against some of us political Writers) because I know no Man at present in being, in whom all these Circumstances can be supposed to concur. To put an End therefore to this Digression, without any Apology, I will humbly beg Leave just to observe, that such an haughty, blustring and imperious Behaviour is in no Place more unbecoming than in a popular Assembly; where all the Members, confidered as fuch, are equal to one another, however their Circumstances may differ in other Respects, as to Wealth, Favour, Titles or Power. It is therefore highly derogatory to the Honour and Privilege of fuch an Assembly for any Person to presume so far on any extraneous Superiority, as to infult, menace, and browbeat the rest of his Brethren; which discovers a strong Intimation that he thinks his dictatorial Voice should always be uncontradicted and definitive; and that they meet there together in order to jump unanimously into all his Opinions; to gratify his Pride only; and facilitate his Defigns.

Caius Fabius, the famous Roman Tribune, was a Man of this hot, infolent and ungovernable Temper: but it ought to be confidered, in his Excuse, that in him it was a natural Infirmity; that He was fensible of it himself; was ashamed of it; and endeavoured, by all Methods, to keep it under; as appears by the

following Story, recorded by Plutarch.

This Author tells us, in the Lives of those two celebrated Brothers, Tiberius and Caius, " That the " one was smooth and sedate; the other rough and " passionate; even to such a Degree, that often, in " the midst of his Orations, he was so much hurryed " away by his Passion, even against his own Will, " that he descended to give ill Language, and strained " his Voice in such a Manner, that he could not pro-" ceed in his Speech. For a Remedy to this Excess, " He made use of an ingenious Servant, one Licinius

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" by Name, who flood constantly behind him with a Pitch-pipe, or musical Instrument to regulate his

"Voice by; and whenever he perceived his Mafter's "Tone alter, and grow harsh with Anger, he breath-

ed a fost Note with his Pipe; at the hearing of which, Caius immediately bated the Vehemence

" of his Payion and Voice; grew mild; and was eafily

" recalled to Temper.

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I have often lamented that no Author has thought fit to give us a particular Description of this curious Instrument, for the Instruction and Use of Posterity: and as often wonder'd that none of our ingenious Mathematical Inframent-makers have attempted fomething of that Nature. I am fure it would amply reward all their Pains and Labours; especially if they could obtain a Patent for the fole making and vending thereof; which could not certainly be deny'd to the Reviver of fo useful a Machine in an Age, which feems to stand in great Need of it. But till that is done, I would humbly recommend it to be confidered, whethe Opera might not be made useful to the State, by placing the celebrated Sig. Sinefino and other Italian Artists behind some of our popular Orators, in order to foften and modulate the Tone of their Voice, and thereby preserve a Moderation and Decency in our publick Debates.

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